2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

representative capacity; they attend funerals elsewhere in Tongo only in a personal capacity as kin or affines of the bereaved family. Similarly, when the Gbizug tɛndaana invited the men of Tongo to a collective hoeing—an invitation to which his politico-ritual relations with Tongo gave the weight of a command—it was to Puhug mainly that he directed the invitation, and the elders of Puhug saw to it that their sons turned out in full force. For, as they explained: 'We stand in awe of the Gbizug tɛndaana, he sacrifices (to the Earth) on our behalf.' From Dekpiɛŋ, the neighbours of Gbizug, came only three young men, and the other sections merely sent messengers to convey their good wishes for a fruitful day's work. Such ties, however, are only effective as long as amicable relationships prevail between Tongo as a whole and the particular tɛndaana's clan.

This brings us back to our starting-point: the social boundaries of Tongo. It is evident that they are largely a function of the social and political relations which each section has with its immediate neighbours, and which differ slightly from section to section.